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Educating Global Britain: perils and possibilities promoting ‘national’ values through critical global citizenship education

Abstract

Global citizenship education (GCE) within schools in England is increasingly being reoriented to address a statutory duty to promote fundamental British values (FBV). This multi-method study investigates the influence of critical GCE within initial teacher education in reshaping awareness, understanding and disposition towards FBV amongst beginning teachers. Findings highlight a tension between growing confidence and understanding of how to implement the FBV agenda and the development of autonomous dispositions of the kind demanded for the practice of critical GCE. Four models of teacher orientation toward FBV are developed, demonstrating the role of practice-based learning for the cultivation of critical dispositions.

Introduction

If you believe you're a citizen of the world, you're a citizen of nowhere.

Theresa May, British Prime Minister, October 2016

Global policy discourse has seen renewed attention on the nature and role of teacher education for global citizenship (Bourn, Hunt and Bamber 2017). The Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) seek to harness international collaboration to better understand how education as a public good can more effectively nurture peace, tolerance, sustainable livelihoods and human fulfilment for all. Teachers are pivotal to meeting this ambition: a success indicator for SDG4 is the universal mainstreaming of GCE, and associated concepts such as tolerance, within teacher education (UNESCO, 2016a, p.287). Recognition of economic, climatic and cultural interdependence has enabled 'global education' to move from the periphery towards the centre of national educational policy agendas (O'Loughlin and Wegimont, 2007). Nevertheless, this 'curricular global turn' (Mannion et al, 2011, p.443) has more recently been accompanied by an 'emphasis on local/national and nationalistic values within schools and education systems' (Yemini, 2018, p. 271).

Migration, concerns about national identity and a growing sense of disillusion with globalisation have led to such assertions of nationality (Green, 2013). In England, schools must now 'promote the fundamental British values (FBV) of democracy, the rule of law, individual liberty, and mutual respect and tolerance of those with different faiths and beliefs' (Ofsted 2016, p.35), with new teachers expected not to undermine FBV as a condition of professional accreditation (DfE, 2012). These obligations have been read as an attempt to reinstate the national (Starkey, 2018), closing down spaces to explore different experiences and traditions of the national narrative (Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017). The British Prime Minister's paradoxical denigration of 'global citizenship' whilst proselytizing for a 'Global Britain' (Telegraph, 2016) illustrates the conceptual and practical tensions enframing the policy context.

This paper investigates the integration of FBV within a GCE course, elucidating challenges and opportunities at the interface of national and global perspectives within policy, curriculum and practice. It will begin by clarifying the complex and contested relationship between GCE, national values and values education. This draws upon a conceptualisation of GCE concerned with existential change, both in terms of ways of being in the world and ways of knowing the world (Andreotti, 2010; Bamber, 2015). An explication of the evolving FBV policy requirement and implications for related curriculum and practice is provided to contextualise this research. The paper goes on to outline our ethnographic approach to understanding the processes of professional enactment through which beginning teachers mediate the FBV policy agenda as they undertake a critical GCE course. Four models of teacher orientation illustrate a spectrum of criticality in the enactment of FBV policy. In the tensions and affordances that emerge, shifts from confident criticality to compliance amongst beginning teachers illustrate a 'site of struggle' (Starkey, 2018, p.12) between national perspectives and the ambitions of critical GCE for schools, teacher educators and teachers in England.

GCE and values education

Global citizenship remains a deeply contested construct, deployed differently across a multitude of educational initiatives. Elsewhere, we have argued that frameworks for GCE have tended to homogenize, conflate the distinction between difference and otherness, be instrumental in nature and fail to establish moral boundaries (Bamber, Lewin and White, 2018). The overwhelming demands from theoretical research for more critical GCE contrasts starkly with minimal discussion of criticality found within a meta-analysis of empirical research (Goren and Yemini, 2017). Dominant forms of duty-based ethical cosmopolitanism fail to interrogate diverse sources of moral responsibility towards others (Peterson, 2012). European studies have focused primarily on cosmopolitan notions of cultural global citizenship, such as the development of multicultural awareness and cultural competence, and ‘rarely feature’ (ibid, p.174) advocacy-based approaches (Oxley and Morris, 2013) that demand a more critical, relational and action-based approach to GCE.

Drawing upon traditions of critical pedagogy and post-colonialism, critical GCE aims to unmask processes that hide difference, exacerbate inequality and marginalise. It does so by supporting learners to examine the sources of their deeply held assumptions and expose contemporary manifestations of power embedded in practice, leading towards responsible and ethical action. For instance, learners become cognisant of prejudice to challenge cultural stereotypes. Critical GCE has been contrasted with ‘soft’ global citizenship (Andreotti, 2006) and ‘education about global citizenship’ (Marshall, 2009) that serves individualistic and economic interests. While US educators have felt ‘trapped’ between the objectives for GCE and nationalistic perspectives (Myers, 2006), critical GCE is not necessarily antagonistic towards forms of national citizenship education (Andreotti, 2015). For instance, teaching civic patriotism nurtures criticality through deliberation, ensuring national attachments remain open to refinement and redetermination (Peterson, 2013).

Nevertheless, ‘criticality’ risks being used by researchers and practitioners as a floating signifier, devoid of meaning, reifying overtly rational approaches (Brookfield, 2009). Johnson and Morris (2010) argue the role of affect differentiates critical pedagogy from notions of critical thinking. This refocuses attention on lived experience; in particular, ‘how notions of consciousness, ideology, and power enter into the way human beings constitute their day-to-day realities’ (Giroux, 1980, p.348). From this view, critical GCE should not simply be concerned with developing ‘critical thinking’ among teachers but also critical being, ‘which embraces critical reason, critical action and critical self-reflection’ (Barnett, 1997, p.105). For instance, Dewey, writing at a time when nationalism was prevalent, believed values are negotiated through the act of education.

...it is well to remind ourselves that education as such has no aims. Only persons, parents, and teachers etc., have aims, not an abstract idea like education. (Dewey, 1916, p.87)

Holistic approaches that seek to cultivate values and dispositions are pivotal to contemporary frameworks for the delivery and evaluation of GCE (UNESCO, 2014; Fricke and Gathercole, 2015) but remain deeply under-theorised and pay limited attention to implications for practice (Bamber et al, 2013; Goren and Yemini, 2017). The field of virtue ethics is particularly useful here to reconnect the ‘cognitive, affective, social and motivational aspects of moral life’ (Carr, 2007, p.373) and provide action-guiding principles to navigate contentious educational practice (Peterson, 2012). Confronted with challenging situations or controversial issues in the classroom teachers draw upon complex assemblages of professional knowledge, much of which is tacit, bound up with personal values, dispositions and beliefs. We adopt an Aristotelian

perspective that foregrounds the cultivation of inclinations, dispositions and good judgements through practice. This commitment to becoming a certain kind of person rather than towards a particular value perspective requires both a 'strenuous self-cultivation' (Carr, 2001, p. 95) according to the Aristotelian perspective, necessarily situated in the realities of pedagogic practice and inter-professional interaction, and a reflexive dimension, necessitating both dialogic and ethnographic methods in this study.

This study is particularly timely as analysis of curricula and policy, rather than practice, predominate GCE research (see Andreotti, 2006; Mannion et al 2011). For instance, Oxley and Morris's (2013) influential typology analyses the intended transactions and outcomes of curricula without considering policy enactment. Whilst previous European studies have tended to differentiate GCE from traditional models of national citizenship (Goren and Yemini, 2017), this research explores the inter-relationship between attempts to promote national identity and the ambitions of critical GCE. Investigating the meanings attached to FBV as beginning teachers complete a course in critical GCE, this study provides much-needed empirical evidence of how GCE is experienced (Peterson, 2016) to assess the applicability of Oxley and Morris's framework for analysing, evaluating and differentiating GCE in practice.

Fundamental British Values: policy confusion and curriculum implications

The definition and role ascribed to FBV coalesced within the UK government's anti-terror strategy (Home Office, 2011) illustrating the influential role of security in driving values education in a post-multicultural space. Rather than being a straightforward response to the moral panic regarding Islamist extremism, interest in and appeals to the idea of 'British values' has emerged from ongoing debates around national identity, multiculturalism, values and citizenship. The genesis of non-partisan interest in 'British values' is found in Labour Party Home Secretary's 'British Statement of Values' (Straw, 2007). Policy ambiguity was evident from the outset, with Prime Minister Tony Blair simultaneously equating the 'War on Terror' with 'a battle for global values' (Blair, 2007). In 2011, Conservative Prime Minister David Cameron signified an important shift towards 'values' as the basis for a cohesive, pluralist society whilst echoing 19th century appeals for 'muscular' Christianity:

Frankly, we need a lot less of the passive tolerance of recent years and a much more active, muscular liberalism. A passively tolerant society ...stands neutral between different values. But I believe a genuinely liberal country does much more; it believes in certain values and actively promotes them. (Cameron, 2011)

Attempts to prescribe 'British' values without consensus on how 'Britishness' is defined (Maylor, 2010) arguably cultivate a 'narrow, fixed, uncritical and intolerant nationalism' (Breslin, Rowe and Thornton 2006, p.21). Maylor argues that 'Britishness' is an 'imagined' community with some groups considered more included than others' (Maylor 2010, p.249). A majoritarian narrative of FBV (Habib, 2018) risks building ethnocentric rather than global minded forms of national identity (Andreotti, 2015). The implication that Britishness is an essentialized national identity equated with Englishness, 'whiteness' and Christianity is particularly problematic. A conflation of culture, 'race' and religion with the 'nation state' constructs a form of exclusive Britishness which, in the context of the events and political discourse outlined above, has increasingly targeted Islam and Muslims as the non-British, non-western and problematic 'other' (see for instance Modood, 1990). A particular concern is that

FBV intensifies processes of ‘othering’ through the marginalisation and degradation of minority groups and communities (in this case young Muslims). Indeed, ambitions to achieve values consensus are inherently problematic:

..it is implausible to believe that agreement in values is productive of community – if anything it seems the other way round. (Carr, 2000, p.58)

Nevertheless, particular values have been invoked to address challenges of social cohesion, radicalization and citizenship internationally (UNESCO, 2016b), in Europe (EC, 2015) and across a range of national settings, including US, Canada, Germany and Australia (Peterson and Bentley, 2016). In England, this discourse is framed by inter-related issues of national sovereignty within the devolved UK, Brexit and the ongoing migration ‘crisis’, all of which have been assailed by a number of ideological and political interests. Somewhat ironically, devolved Education policy across the 4 nations of the United Kingdom (UK) has led to FBV obligations existing in England but not Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Policy confusion is exacerbated by ambivalence regarding the meaning of particular values: guidance for schools (DfE, 2014) fails to distinguish between a range of interpretations of tolerance, from a genuine openness and deliberative engagement with difference to a grudging or uncritical acceptance of difference (Walzer, 1997).

Research highlights teacher unease and scepticism about promoting ‘Britishness’ (Wilkins, 1999) and imposing overly narrow definitions that deny the experience of ‘multiple identities’ (Osler, 2011, p.17). Jerome and Clemmitshaw had suggested that a new political discourse enabled a ‘new readiness to talk about Britishness’ (2012, p.38) not identified by Wilkins (1999). They found initial teacher education (ITE) students were able to combine thinking critically about the Britishness agenda with a willingness to teach about the issues it raises; or what they termed a ‘valid criticality’ (Jerome and Clemmitshaw, 2012, p.39). However, following the introduction of FBV, an unwillingness and inability to engage critically with notions of Britishness has been found among teachers (Bhopal and Rhamie, 2014; Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017). Moreover, pre-service and in service teachers have struggled to make sense of FBV without appropriate training (Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017; Habib, 2018).

The introduction of FBV in England has occurred alongside changes to the statutory curriculum for citizenship and GCE guidance for teachers and schools. The introduction of statutory citizenship education in 2002 catalysed the development of research, policy and practice for GCE in the UK (Starkey, 2018). A non-statutory programme to embed ‘a global dimension’ across all schools (DfID, 2005) was revised significantly to account for post-colonial critique (Oxley and Morris, 2013) with subsequent guidance encouraging self-reflexivity and deconstruction of issues and events from a range of perspectives (QCA, 2007). The latest iteration of this activity, the Global Learning Programme (GLP), aimed to ‘prepare young people for life in modern Britain’, in a verbatim restatement of the FBV policy objective (DfE, 2014). Although research of practice is limited, GLP guidance has been criticised for offering insufficient prompts for critical pedagogy (Huckle, 2017). GLP professional development for FBV (Bowden, 2016) utilises a ‘Global Learning framework’ (GLP, 2018) providing further evidence of FBV being integrated within GCE practice in England.

At the same time, the liberal nationalist intent of FBV to buttress political, legal and civic institutions is reflected in revised English curricula for citizenship (DfE, 2013): emphasis upon political education and critical thinking have been replaced by a focus on constitutional history and financial literacy. Taken together, this reorientation of curriculum and guidance indicates GCE is no longer a 'nodal point' for policy discourse related to citizenship education (Mannion et al, 2011). We argue that the FBV policy acts as a distinctive point of departure warranting further investigation in practice. Indeed, a perception that FBV are not uniquely British has been a recurrent finding in recent empirical research (Lander, 2016), with many teachers preferring the terminology of universal or global values (see for instance Panjwani, 2016 and Elton-Chalcraft et al, 2017). This paper therefore seeks to better understand how the continuities and discontinuities in official policy discourse outlined above are experienced amongst those now joining the teaching profession.

While empirical literature to date has focused on pre-service and in-service teacher attitudes towards FBV, this study sought to understand the processes of professional enactment through which beginning teachers mediate the policy agenda. Our model of values education, that individuals develop their being through practice, elevates the role of context and relationships as teachers 'critically shape their responses to problematic situations' (Biesta and Tedder, 2006, p. 11). This provides an alternative discourse to that embedded within development and (global) citizenship education that theorises a continuum of participation from awareness to action (Bourn, 2015). This approach demands a relational understanding of policy enactment that explores the influence of external institutional, cultural and environmental factors. This research therefore considers multiple dimensions of teacher education, including the role of University and school-based learning, teacher mentors, beginning teachers and their peers, to account for the multi-layered nature of policy implementation.

Methodology and context for this study

This multi-method study sought to understand beginning teachers' evolving understanding of FBV as they undertook a critical GCE course. The sample population was a cohort of 134 beginning primary school teachers (of children aged 4 to 11) in the penultimate year of 4-year undergraduate ITE at a university in the North of England. Undergraduate ITE in England provides national accreditation to teach through completion of an undergraduate university degree alongside a series of school placements. This research investigates the influence of a critical GCE course, mandatory at one particular institution, titled Wider Perspectives in Education (WPE) that incorporates a University-based component and school-based projects on FBV. This provides timely and important empirical data to illuminate the possibilities for critical pedagogy within teacher education for FBV (Habib, 2018).

WPE has evolved over 10 years through a sustained partnership with Liverpool World Centre, a non-government organisation promoting GCE, and is heavily influenced by radical approaches within the lineage of development education (Mannion et al, 2011). Recognising that forms of local, national and global citizenship can be mutually reinforcing (Peterson, 2016) WPE attempts to 're-conceive' national models of citizenship rather than simply 'extend' a sense of responsibility from the national to the global (Pashby, 2011 pg. 430). The course examines national and international education policy agendas through 'historical critique, critical reflection and social action' (Giroux 1983, p.350). It introduces pedagogical approaches for teaching sensitive and controversial issues that nurture critical literacy such as philosophy

for children. The FBV requirement is examined explicitly across lectures and seminars that interrogate social and political issues such as migration, diversity, conflict and the role of the media.

Given global citizenship remains a vague or abstract construct unrelated to the daily lives of students (Davies, 2006), WPE incorporates a school-based project in a local community context connecting theory to practice. Beginning teachers work in groups across diverse educational settings to consider the wider social, moral and ethical implications of a particular educational issue. Integrating curriculum with community engagement in this way provides a model of service-learning, a pedagogical approach increasingly adopted within GCE (Bamber, 2015). As such, the course illustrates the social and critical advocacy models of GCE (Oxley and Morris, 2013) that not only raise awareness of multiculturalism but develop relationships between beginning teachers and diverse cultural groupings.

A preliminary whole-cohort survey completed by 95 of the 134 students suggested some hypotheses regarding dispositions towards FBV that provided a focus for subsequent data collection. Six schools were then identified from 37 participating in WPE via purposive sampling to locate distinctive approaches to FBV amongst school-based projects. Data collation from the individual schools used four distinct methodological strands: document analysis of publically available data school websites and inspection reports, semi-structured interviews with headteachers and WPE project lead teachers, participant observation and reflective logs. This data was collected as part of a broader project exploring the influence of university and placement environments on teacher agency. The observation schedule was constructed by an interdisciplinary expert group (Bamber et al, 2013) to better understand the enactment of FBV in practice across the sample of school projects. 14 students from these schools completed project reflective logs and the research team attended end of project presentations where students from each of the six schools answered questions from their course tutors and peers on their professional learning and evolving professional identity.

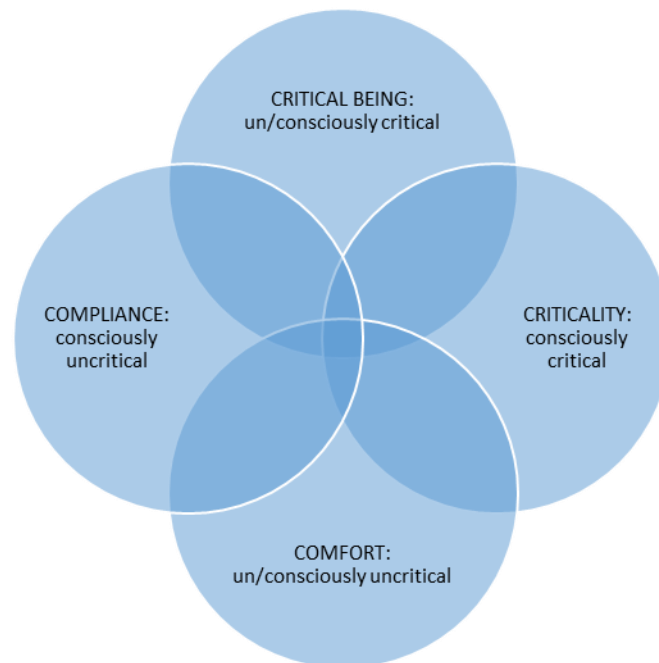
Ethnographic data, as described above, was combined with detailed interviewing to better understand the relationships, critical incidents, emergent values and exchanges of policy enactment (Ball, 2016, p.552). Follow-up semi-structured interviews were carried out with 12 students who had completed the whole-cohort survey, drawing on metacognitive protocols (Perry Jr, 1999) focusing on participants' interpretations of and subsequent reflections upon their responses to the survey questions. We developed a coding framework drawing on interpretive phenomenological analysis to theorise conceptual themes represented across the diverse data sets. Against the danger that mixed-method qualitative research can be atheoretical (Kahlke, 2014), the research team adopted a comparative approach to data analysis to enable critical reflexivity regarding the emergent coding framework.

Teacher orientations towards FBV

Investigating the influence of a critical GCE course upon the enactment of FBV by beginning teachers afforded the opportunity to empirically assess claims that FBV policy had 'opened up a space' for critical democratic engagement now that the teachers role includes promotion of explicit values (Bryan, 2012). 'Comfort', 'compliance', 'criticality' and 'critical being' emerged, through inductive analysis as outlined above, as overlapping concepts that illuminate a spectrum of engagement with FBV in this particular context, as illustrated in Figure 1. This is a heuristic device, rather than definitive framework, to understand our interpretation of the

data. These four models will now be described, drawing upon indicative direct quotations (from beginning teachers unless stated otherwise) illustrating tensions and affordances when promoting critical dispositions towards values in the contemporary global landscape.

Figure 1. Spectrum of criticality in FBV policy enactment



Comfort

Comfort is characterised predominantly by an ‘unconsciously uncritical’ orientation towards FBV policy and practice, tacitly accepting a non-negotiable vision of how everyone should live embedded within FBV indicative of soft global citizenship (Andreotti, 2006). These beginning teachers and school leaders exhibit shortsighted naivety regarding policy expectations and fail to anticipate problematic consequences of adopting such a position, for instance:

Our children are very tolerant of all different, you know, faiths and cultures. We’re a predominantly white British school and we just don’t have any issues. [Interview: Deirdre, acting headteacher]

This demonstrates how opportunities to transcend local loyalties and deliberate on the substance of national values are closed down, potentially propagating ethnocentrism. An assimilationist or integrative approach was evident as beginning teachers expected minorities to adopt the majority perspective. For instance, beginning teacher Jane concluded her project presentation stating ‘...it’s important those coming from another culture to know what we believe in Britain, and understanding how they must follow our society’. This study found evidence of othering that problematized and alienated communities, faiths and cultures that did not apparently align with FBV. This transforms difference into otherness by dichotomising between ‘us’ and ‘them’ and is characterised by a ‘diversity as deficit’ orientation. Failure to adopt a critical perspective was evident in the data set in terms of stereotyping amongst

beginning teachers regarding the status of women in Muslim households and assuming pupils learning English as an Additional Language to be non-British.

‘Comfort’ with FBV encouraged attitudes of benign indifference or enthusiastic endorsements of diversity relating to superficial, unobjectionable differences relating to cuisine, culture or appearance rather than contestable differences in values and beliefs. A common response was to nest FBV within an expanded set of pre-determined school or professional values. This may also sublimate critical reflection, as demonstrated by a Christian school foregrounding ‘Gospel’ values that equated the Ten Commandments with the FBV ‘Rule of Law’. The conscious and agentive refocusing on ‘Gospel values’ served to obfuscate the policy agenda for beginning teachers, leading them towards an unknowing, unreflective acceptance of the policy agenda. This occurred for beginning teachers despite the objective of WPE to cultivate reflexivity upon developing professional identity and the values, principles and philosophies underpinning educational settings.

Compliance

This study found that the professional identity of beginning teachers is fine-tuned to assimilate policy agendas as they strive to meet accountability measures. These beginning teachers and schools were ‘consciously uncritical’, paying lip-service to the policy fearful of not being compliant, presenting outward though not necessarily inward attachment (Donnelly, 2000) to the ethos of FBV. This contrasts with the implicit compliance of ‘comfort’ characterised by an inability rather than unwillingness to consider alternatives. The focus here is upon teaching knowledge *about* FBV rather than nurturing particular values amongst young people, with an abiding concern for evidencing that FBV have been addressed (within schools) and not undermined (by beginning teachers). For instance, in one school, FBV were incorporated into school assemblies on the patron saints of nations within the UK illustrating ‘superficial understanding’ indicative of a performative response. This approach risks occluding challenge, foreclosing discussion of difficult or challenging topics.

Curriculum constraints and accountability mechanisms enabled a ‘glossing over’ rather than ‘unveiling’ of difference. For instance, Julie reflected on a question she was asked about the beliefs of a different faith:

...it was hard to then step back with that child and talk about it... I wanted to discuss it further with them, but obviously just with the theme of the lesson we couldn’t really go off on a tangent... [Interview: Julie]

Relinquishing professional autonomy in this way is inimical to the goals of critical GCE, illustrating the challenge of inculcating critical dispositions in ITE where students may lack the knowledge, beliefs, confidence and inclination to challenge accountability measures.

A ‘compliant’ orientation exhibited forbearance or resigned acceptance of difference. This ‘negative toleration’ may involve tolerating the unobjectionable or indulging the intolerable. Promotion of tolerance that fails to understand or challenge the views of others is seen to silence difference and paralyse dialogue, fore-closing spaces for public or social action. For instance in her project presentation, Marj reflected upon engaging with parents, concluding ‘we don’t want to enforce these British values onto them if that’s not what they believe’. While Carr and Landon’s study of teachers and schools as agencies of values education found a ‘reluctance to push liberal principles to that point of permissiveness which might hasten slide into moral

licence' (1998, p.172), the strong liberal mantra of 'live and let live' was explicitly articulated by three participants in this study. This reticence to promote a particular moral perspective characterises what we would call 'uncritical tolerance' akin to Cameron's notion of 'passive tolerance', substantiating recent research that concluded teacher education must address forms of naïve relativism (Sanger and Osguthorpe, 2011, p.574) that typify pre-service teachers' beliefs.

Criticality

The dominant response of beginning teachers to FBV was broad agreement, alignment and support for the agenda. They connected the diverse range of policy interpretations in school contexts with a personal commitment to preparing young people 'for life in modern Britain' (Ofsted, 2006, p.41). The overarching critique was simply that FBV are not uniquely British, challenging the terminology rather than the substance of the values:

The name 'British' values suggests migrants only learn to get along with people respectfully by coming to England. Well they didn't, because the ones I know had those values beforehand... [Reflective log: Marj]

Some, like Marj above, were mindful of antagonising fragile home-school relationships through self-righteous displays of cultural supremacy. They articulated concerns that the FBV policy was 'out of step' with a diverse society and risked marginalising particular communities such as immigrants and Muslims although the latter were rarely explicitly named.

Criticality emerges from an apparent mis-match between the expectation to promote FBV and personal, professional, local, faith, national, cosmopolitan beliefs and values. Where such beliefs and values collide the beginning teacher's apparently struggle to accommodate such differences as evident in the categories of 'compliance' and 'critical being'. Demonstrating a belief that values are formed through democratic deliberation, a small number questioned the 'fundamental' nature of these values with some suggesting FBV are underpinned by a cultural hegemony. These beginning teachers were open to a plurality of perspectives and sought to make explicit contemporary manifestations of power illustrative of critical GCE. For instance they recognised that values are not inexorable and objected to the imposition of values.

A small minority of beginning teachers began to unveil the conceptual nuances and complexity of the value set. Recognising the highly contested notion of tolerance in contemporary political philosophy, Rachel advocated for promoting 'kindness' to move beyond negative notions of toleration:

...it seems as though tolerance and respect may not be exactly the same thing as showing kindness. So, even though children may respect or tolerate children that may have a different religion or an ethnic background, then it may not automatically mean that they would have to be kind to others whereas it may be better for them if they were kind to everybody. [Interview: Rachel]

Another reflected upon the limits of tolerance through exploring the practical tensions between respecting cultural otherness and protecting human rights. Others identified disjuncture between the FBV of individual liberty and the beliefs of major world religions such as the Catholic teaching on artificial contraception.

Despite these critical reflections, the enactment of criticality within practice was inhibited by social, cultural and professional factors. For instance, one beginning teacher described how a 'high ability child with pressuring parents would not air her views as much because she always wanted to be right', illustrating the existence of a culture of compliance emanating from home. Rather than being unwilling to engage with controversial issues (Wilkins, 1999), beginning teachers felt limited by their own subject knowledge. This was evident implicitly within participant observation notes and recognised explicitly by beginning teachers, for instance Megan noted in her reflective log that 'a lot of us struggle with some of the trickier conversations where not everyone does agree with the same thing'. Such concerns were felt acutely when working directly with parents. Reflecting upon discrepancy between home and school values, Chloe commented in her interview that 'it's not worth dealing with the issue in the first place because it [be]comes a bit of a mess'.

Critical being

Critical being was demonstrated through pedagogical approaches that educate *through*, rather than *about* or *for*, FBV, highlighting the importance of practice-based learning for cultivating critical dispositions. Beginning teachers and school leaders pursued opportunities for re-imagining FBV through attention to the spaces for rights, democratic participation and encountering diversity. These teachers actively resist the imposition of values, promoting 'bottom-up' pedagogical approaches to value formation and clarification to nurture 'inward attachment' (Donnelly, 2000).

...it's not just saying, 'This is it, take it or leave it,' but you need to be able to allow for the development of the pupil's own beliefs and own moral development. [Interview: Beth]

Participant observation of Beth facilitating a 'circle time' activity on values formation substantiated her willingness and ability to support pupils to assess the value commitments of their parents and local communities. In a similar example, Gina established a project that simulated a day in the life of a refugee to support children to sympathetically consider the situation of others and consider alternative perspectives:

People have views about immigration, especially with Brexit, and parents will tell the child what they should be thinking but if you've put yourself in somebody else's shoes, you're going to have a lot more respect for how they might be feeling... [Reflective log: Gina]

Critical being evidences the possibility for education *through* the practice of values as beginning teachers and schools critically (self)-reflect upon existential questions and cultivate inter-professional dialogue about the aims and purposes of education. It emerges as beginning teachers and schools draw upon educational discourse over and above that provided by the FBV policy. This was sometimes catalysed by the University course then nurtured by school leaders, parents, pupils and other members of the community leading beginning teachers to envision alternatives or more expansive possibilities for FBV policy and practice. For instance Jem reflected in her project presentation that a University based lecture challenged her own assumptions about Islam and helped her to 'to realise I need to challenge the children's stereotypes as well'. Jem subsequently worked with parents to introduce Arabic lessons in her placement school.

Dissonance was often felt and embodied, as prejudice or presuppositions were brought to consciousness, reiterating the central role of affective aspects of learning. For instance Jem 'felt extremely uncomfortable' in a University based lecture that challenged her own assumptions about Islam: 'that kind of helped me open my eyes to realise I need to challenge the children's stereotypes as well' and subsequently introduced Arabic lessons for pupils in her placement schools taught by a parent. Similarly Delila nurtured community engagement on her project, commenting in her reflective log that '...it felt like a matter of justice...allowing those parents to have a voice within the school and that they can come together, that is a good place to start to make people more tolerant of others...'.

Discussion

This empirical data disrupts dichotomous notions of soft and critical GCE (Andreotti, 2006) that remain hugely influential in the field. The spectrum of orientations towards the 'national' values policy illustrates how criticality develops in tandem with the performative demands that permeate this particular policy context. New entrants to the profession mainly failed to embrace counter-hegemonic approaches and did not necessarily orientate themselves to FBV with 'valid criticality' (Jerome and Clemitshaw, 2012). The orientations of comfort and compliance demonstrate how attempts to nurture social and critical advocacy (Oxley and Morris, 2013, p.310) can be subverted and sanitized by a discursive orthodoxy that restricts interruptive possibility, anaesthetising critical GCE. The promotion of uncritical tolerance is seen to silence difference and paralyse dialogue through failing to understand or challenge the views of others. Beginning teachers, teacher educators and schools become complicit in the negation of alterity, entering into an implicit pact that precludes genuine critique. This strengthens barriers that mitigate against the structural inclusion of diverse racial, ethnic and religious individuals and groups, exacerbating rather than ameliorating what has been described as 'failed citizenship' (Banks, 2017).

At the same time, the statutory requirement to promote explicit values has opened up a space for critical democratic engagement, creating possibilities for nurturing criticality. The empirical evidence from practice expands understanding of social and critical global citizenship (Oxley and Morris, 2013). For instance, 'criticality' and 'critical being' in this study are characterised by 'positive toleration' underpinned by principled recognition of the rights of others, openness and curiosity (Walzer, 1997, p.10–11). This involved constructive engagement with difference and nurturing empathy as beginning teachers, for example, simulated the experiences and feelings of a new arrival or incorporating community members from diverse backgrounds within curriculum activities. This offers insight into the cultivation of important critical dispositions such as hospitality and humility through encouraging mutual engagement across difference within the school and wider community. This cultivation of 'critical being' exemplifies 'entoleration' (Lundie and Conroy, 2015), whereby individuals and groups engage with sympathetic and transformative encounters with others' beliefs as they become other-wise (Bamber, 2015).

The enactment of values policy has therefore brought into focus a relationship between beginning teachers' being and agency that acknowledges the real-world constraints on, or barriers to, moral action (Bamber, 2015). By showing how the context of practice shapes not only enactment but reflection, this study provides empirical evidence to support claims that the moral requirements of cosmopolitanism are better conceptualised from a virtue perspective

rather than rule-based ethic (Peterson, 2012). Rather than creating the expectation that teachers and pupils undertake particular actions, this approach broadens notions of advocacy within Oxley and Morris's typology to encompass nurturing learner's capabilities and their becoming a certain kind of person.

The findings also highlight the contentious role of parents in moral development within a culturally plural society. Negotiating FBV with parents and families was, for many beginning teachers, the most challenging aspect of implementing the FBV policy requirements. They acknowledged the policy was divisive and provocative. While previous research raised concerns about a reluctance amongst teachers to assert that the views of parents may be wrong (Carr and Landon, 1998, p.174), responses here varied from attempts to remake or reframe the policy agenda to recognise the diversity of parental influences, through to a willingness to outright challenge perceived parental prejudices. While the compliant orientation suggests the need to engage with any complexity as something that only applies to an absent 'other' such as parents, a critical orientation enables opportunities for self-narration, acknowledging that there is something 'we' can/should learn from this moral discourse.

This study exposes challenges for GCE policy and practice with a strong values component. The imposition of values by the nation state, schools, parents and individual teachers can fail to inspire genuine commitment to those values. Beginning teachers and schools attempt to elide differences between the language of FBV, and other professional, personal and faith-based values related terminology, including that of GCE. The findings evidence the promotion of alternative values that occlude, expand upon, diverge from and subvert policy and curriculum intentions. For instance, one school taught the rule of law by building military survival shelters to promote resilience and grit. The narrative or meaning underpinning the terminology of broad consensus values asserted within a society can easily be lost or diminished. The advancement of alternative values and flattening of difference illustrated here may frustrate political aspirations for 'muscular liberalism', restated recently by the Chief Inspector of schools. Furthermore, success indicators for SDG 4.7, such as whether particular concepts like tolerance have been mainstreamed in the curriculum (UNESCO, 2016a, p.287), clearly fail to account for how such values and related curricula are taught in practice.

Conclusion

This paper began by highlighting emergent tensions between national and global policy discourse for GCE. Policy confusions were explicated in relation to the statutory duty to promote FBV in England, leading to our claim that the 'curricular global turn' (Mannion et al, 2011, p.443) within official policy discourse is in retreat in this particular context. We investigated beginning teachers' evolving understanding of FBV as they undertook a critical GCE course to better understand the inter-relationship between attempts to promote national identity and the ambitions of GCE in practice. The findings outlined four models of teacher orientation towards FBV, highlighting tensions and affordances in implementing a politically determined approach to values education and the development of emerging professionals' critical autonomy. This typology offers a more nuanced understanding of the development of criticality than existing models of critical global citizenship education (Andreotti, 2008; Oxley and Morris, 2013). It provides a framework for GCE practitioners to differentiate GCE in practice and to support educators navigating contentious social policy.

Understanding GCE as nurturing a process of becoming, as outlined here, has the potential to refocus debate regarding the intersections between global and national citizenship education. GCE researchers and educators must therefore find new ways to understand teachers' being rather than their doing, attending in particular to these four inter-penetrating imperatives of professional identity. Understanding beginning teachers as ends-in-themselves requires teacher educators to consider which particular values and capabilities they seek to nurture, including those that inculcate a critical orientation towards professional requirements. This research demonstrates the potential for instrumental approaches to teacher education to resist and disrupt processes of value formation pivotal to critical conceptualisations of GCE, ignoring the all-important context that generates social cohesion and enables different people to live together; highlighting the importance of ongoing GCE professional development for teachers beyond ITE. In particular, to support the professional acculturation of critical dispositions for GCE over time and should include opportunities to work alongside parents and community members to understand the social context in which they operate. The challenge for teacher educators is to open spaces for beginning teachers to develop independent, confident and critical voice in the wider ethical and political conversation about the ultimate moral and social purposes of education, looking beyond instrumental expectations.

At the same time

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